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CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

Introduction

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji. 272 276

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months 272 177 276

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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

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Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald

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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atchu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

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The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

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While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono*, which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona*. In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

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Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

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276 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

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276 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

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Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[a]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[a]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au vandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[a] Na mata: Taveuni: *na is na no na vanua.*
[a] *Vakatanggara e na kali; vakatanggara = vakatatava.*

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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[1] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave[2] wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes.
It is like the dropping of the rain.
It is like the dropping of the rain.
The kava I went to pull up
An old man touches.
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[3]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct.

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[1] *Namata*, lose; *tarcuni* and Levuka, *matha*.

[2] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[3] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

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gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndoa*.—*Sa*:?—*thombo*: to clap.

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INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

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The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.

No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonivaki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the function of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).

Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."

During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua*, that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga*, "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo*, which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa*, that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

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The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia:

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

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The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73).

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou vosa ka sosora thaka tu yani ka tuvuru."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *sorak* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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796 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or
272 death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle [372 usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco
276] rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by
527 one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than [262 are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men,
171] while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food [illegible] large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the [illegible] of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

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Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Canangium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

[157] *Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum)* is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin.

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

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302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of 276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

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and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

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houses and everything fair to see. And they came to the great Council House, in which sat the King of Burotu with his Chiefs. Now, the King was the father of Ligadua. 539* 776

"'Welcome home, Ligadua,' said the King. 'Good is your coming from the land of the world-people.'

"'It is good, sir,' said Ligadua; then he added, 'I have a friend from earth waiting outside.' For he had told Tui Liku to wait until he should ascertain the mind of the King.

"'Let him enter,' said the King.

"Then some Burotu people came in bringing *ai vonovono* (offerings) to Ligadua because of his home-coming. They brought two young coco-nuts on the branch, as is the custom in Lau. Now, these were red nuts, and very fine ones called *Niu Rerega*, such as Tui Liku had never seen before. After this, *Yaqona*[1] was made, and they drank it with all the ceremony proper to Burotu. And when this was over, Tui Liku nudged Ligadua, and whispered that he had a request to make. It was this, that he might take these nuts back to earth with him and plant them there. So Ligadua turned to the King and said, 'May it please you, sir, my *matanivanua* (aide-de-camp) wishes to take these nuts away to plant in his own country.' [276]

[1] Or Kava, the ceremonial drink of the South Seas.

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115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

Soon was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers,
173 there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three years."

"Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe) that catch the sacred fish. And the catching of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*. Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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meal taken and the people go to sleep for the night.

[276]

"And the next morning at sunrise more *Yaqona* is made, and some is poured out for the god, and then the people wade into the swamp. Now, you must know, sir, that the swamp has no clear water in it, but is a large lake of liquid mud, some forty fathoms in each direction, and in the middle it is very deep. And we are not able to swim in it (I myself was at the fishing last year), but have to take logs of light wood with us to keep us afloat.

[481]

"Then the priest on the bank says '*Ulia*,' and we take narrow staves and stir up the mud; and again he says '*Ulia*,' and once again we stir, and a third time he says '*Ulia*,' and at this the fish begin to jump. And as they leap all the people, men and women, on the banks call out '*Sa uru waqa ni Toga*' (the ship has come from Tonga), and they keep calling this out as the fish come leaping more and more to the surface. Then we catch them easily with small nets, or even with our hands, fine, big fish from two to three feet long; and having killed them we cast them on to the bank. But there is one thing we have always to remember. We may not kill them by biting at the back of their heads, as we kill all other fish, for this is *tabu sara* (strictly forbidden), and we must always twist their heads to kill them.

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before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land."

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced.

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.